DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 282 246 CS 210 550

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TITLE Effect of Newsroom Management Styles on Journalists: A Case Study of Two Newspapers.
PUB DATE 1 Aug 87
NOTE 27p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (70th, San Antonio, TX, August 1-4, 1987).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Case Studies; Editors; *Employee Attitudes; *Employer Employee Relationship; Interpersonal Communication; Job Satisfaction; Media Research; *Newspapers; *Participative Decision Making; Work Environment
IDENTIFIERS *Journalists; *Management Styles

ABSTRACT

A case study of two metropolitan newspapers examined whether there was a relationship between type of newsroom management style--"authoritarian" or "democratic"--and journalists' perceptions of management style and leadership, editors' roles, career goals and job satisfaction, readers' news source contact, and community closeness. The study also examined whether management style is perceived differently by journalists with different personal and attitudinal characteristics. Subjects, 125 journalists (mostly reporters) at a morning and an evening newspaper, completed a 12-page questionnaire on perceptions and attitudes. The results indicated that the evening paper tended to be perceived as authoritarian while the morning paper was perceived as a blend of democratic and authoritarian styles. Journalists at both papers endorsed journalists' participation in decision making as important to improving the work environment, but the morning paper workers were no more likely than the evening paper workers to share in news decisions. Relationships among editors and between editors and reporters were more satisfactory at the evening paper. Differences in management style did not appear to increase the journalists' sense of closeness to their audience. (Tables of data and 27 footnotes are included.) (HTH)

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Newspaper Division:
Focus on Newspaper Research

EFFECT OF NEWSROOM MANAGEMENT STYLES ON JOURNALISTS:

A CASE STUDY OF TWO NEWSPAPERS

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Presented to the 75th Annual Convention
of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication,
San Antonio, Texas, August 1, 1987.

CS210550

Cecilie Gaziano and David Coulson
Newspaper Division: Focus on Newspaper Research
Saturday, August 1, 1987, 1:30-3 p.m.
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
San Antonio, Texas

ABSTRACT:

EFFECT OF NEWSROOM MANAGEMENT STYLES ON JOURNALISTS:

A CASE STUDY OF TWO NEWSPAPERS

This case study of the "Morning Sun" and the "Evening Star," owned by "Mainstreet Newspapers," sought to determine if there was a relationship between type of newsroom management style, "authoritarian" or "democratic," and journalists' perceptions of management style, leadership, editors' roles, environment and treatment, career goals and job satisfaction, readers, news source contact and community closeness. The study also sought to determine if management style is perceived differently by journalists with differing personal and attitudinal characteristics.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors gratefully acknowledge the support of "Mainstreet Newspapers," the support of The Donald W. Reynolds School of Journalism, University of Nevada-Reno and Dean Travis Linn. They especially appreciate the help of the journalists at the "Morning Sun" and the "Evening Star" who participated in the survey. They also thank Dr. Emanuel P. Gaziano, of Abbott Northwestern Hospital Perinatal Center, Minneapolis, MN, for comments on the manuscript and Lee Kaplan, research manager, MORI Research, Minneapolis, for comments on questionnaire construction.

EFFECT OF NEWSROOM MANAGEMENT STYLES ON JOURNALISTS: A CASE STUDY OF TWO NEWSPAPERS

Management theorists largely agree that managers have their own sets of concepts, whether or not articulated, which guide their organizational behavior and actions. More specifically, each newspaper newsroom manager has his or her own management theory.

Differing theories of newsroom managers may have dissimilar influences on the attitudes and behavior of journalists. Some newspapers have work settings which appear to restrict journalists while others are less restrictive.

Most journalists appear to prefer a blend of authoritarian and democratic management styles. Newsrooms are divided about what works best. At newspapers where an authoritarian management style prevails, many journalists want greater autonomy. The opposite holds true in newsrooms perceived to be operating more democratically.[1]

The research problem is to determine if there is a relationship between type of newsroom administration -- "authoritarian" or "democratic" -- and journalists' work attitudes, perceptions of job performance and perceptions of communication networks. "Authoritarian" means the extent to which power and authority are held by those at the upper levels of a newspaper's hierarchy, while "democratic" means the extent to which power and authority are extended down through the newspaper hierarchy.

Literature and research in the newspaper management field are limited. An exhaustive review of the literature uncovered no studies specifically concerned with the relationship between newsroom management style and journalists' work attitudes and job satisfaction. Therefore, such an assessment may be of particular value.

Research has shown journalists have high need for participation and for autonomy -- independence of decision-making authority and a sense of control over one's work and ideas. Because of these characteristics journalists at newspapers where management is perceived as authoritarian might show greater job dissatisfaction than journalists at newspapers where management is seen as more decentralized.

A newspaper's degree of centralization or decentralization may be determined primarily by its organizational structure. An increase in centralization and bureaucratization, often a result of media concentration and monopolization, has bred job dissatisfaction because of diminished autonomy.[2]

Nevertheless, some observers believe trends in the newspaper industry show management is generally curbing reporters' autonomy; control may be a key issue in the newsroom.[3] Case study and organizational theory show that in journalist-news leadership relationships there are "sufficient mechanisms . . . to enable the newspaper hierarchies to exert meaningful control over reportorial performance.[4] Control is defined by the power of authority to guide or manage.[5]

Even within newspapers of the same general size there is disagreement as to how closely newsroom managers should supervise journalists.[6] Determination of the desirable level of supervision is a management decision, but understanding the relationship between supervision and work attitudes in the newsroom may give an indication of the suitable amount. Burgoon, Burgoon and Atkin report clear directives from supervisors and job autonomy together to be their strongest predictor of job satisfaction among journalists.[7]

The perceived atmosphere of the newsroom is related to the level of participation on a newspaper and whether management attempts to give

reporters information important to them.[8] If employees are given a greater voice in their organization's affairs, motivation is increased, their willingness to accept change is increased and a greater sense of teamwork and morale is developed.[9] In addition, the ways journalists comprehend their particular jobs may influence their general attitudes about the field and commitment to the profession.[10]

Weaver and Wilhoit found in 1983 that the most important predictors of job satisfaction -- esteem for the organization's performance, frequent communication with supervisors and perceived job autonomy -- seemed unchanged since the Johnstone study a dozen years earlier. The type of ownership of news organizations, the region of the country where employed, educational background and myriad other factors did not affect how journalists assess various job attributes.[11]

Individual characteristics of journalists also influence job satisfaction. Reporters tend to be young and highly educated, which may contribute to various levels of acceptance or rejection of management styles. Whereas older journalists tend to focus more on economic factors, their younger colleagues stress personal development as factors of job satisfaction.[12]

A 1985 Associated Press Managing Editors Association study revealed journalists' relationships to their communities were related to job satisfaction, career goals and attitudes toward the media and journalists' roles.[13] Therefore, questions which would allow comparison with the national sample on these characteristics were included in the present study.

The impetus for the investigation was one author's experience as a management consultant and writing coach for two metropolitan newspapers -- the "Morning Sun" and the "Evening Star, owned by "Mainstreet

Newspapers" -- during the summer of 1985. He hypothesized that the papers' newsroom management styles influenced journalists' professional attitudes and performance.[14] This research is a case study of the two large dailies. The Morning Sun has a circulation of more than 138,000, and the Evening Star circulation is more than 112,000, according to the 1986 Editor & Publisher Yearbook.

The following research questions were tested:

1) Does newsroom management style affect journalists' work attitudes, job satisfaction, career goals and perceptions of ability to perform their jobs well?

2) Does newsroom management style affect perceptions of the general newsroom environment, such as communication and control over newswork?

3) Is newsroom management style perceived differently by journalists with dissimilar personal and attitudinal characteristics?

4) Does newsroom management style affect the way journalists perceive their communities and readers?

Method

Twelve-page questionnaires were distributed to journalists at the Morning Sun and the Evening Star during the first week of July 1986. Completed questionnaires were mailed to the investigators by the first week of August. Nine open-ended questions were coded, for which the co-efficient of inter-rater reliability was .93.[15]

One hundred four journalists at the Morning Sun were eligible for the survey, and 62 took part, a 60% completion rate. Sixty-three of 85 eligible journalists at the Evening Star participated, a 74% completion rate. The total was 125 for an overall completion rate of 66%. Respondents represented the two papers equally.

The definition of "journalist" matched that in the APME survey (except that the APME survey included photographers and this survey did not). Respondents were all full-time newsroom personnel involved in preparation of

news (gathering, writing, editing, and graphics), including reporters, writers, columnists, copy editors, supervising editors and artists.[16]

Results

Table 1 summarizes the characteristics of the Mainstreet Newspaper journalists.[17] The majority of journalists responding were reporters. All but eight of the editors represented in the survey held management-level positions (excluding copy editors). Tenure was balanced at both papers, with about one-third being relative newcomers to to the newspapers and another one-third being long-term employees. Two-thirds were seasoned journalists, while only one-eighth entered journalism recently.

In comparison with the national APME sample, journalists at Mainstreet Newspapers were slightly more likely to be male and somewhat more likely to be older and better educated. They were also more likely to be reporters, to have more journalism experience, and to have longer tenure at their papers. On the whole, journalists in "Mainstreet City" were more rooted in their community than APME respondents were.

Typology of Journalists. Because age and community ties appeared to account for the greatest differences among APME respondents, a four-fold typology based on these characteristics was developed:[18]

Journalist Type	Ties to Community	Age	Proportion of APME Sample	Proportion of Mainstreet Newspaper Journalists
Younger transients	Weak or moderate	Under 35	38%	22%
Younger natives	Strong	Under 35	15%	12%
Older transients	Weak or moderate	35 or older	22%	31%
Older natives	Strong	35 or older	25%	35%

Journalists surveyed at Mainstreet Newspapers were more likely to represent "older natives" and "older transients" than those in the national

APME sample. However, "younger natives" were over-represented at the Evening Star (17%) and under-represented at the Morning Sun (7%). "Older transients" also were disproportionately represented (38% at the Sun and 24% at the Star).

"Younger transients" and "younger natives" in Mainstreet City were less likely than their national counterparts to include women. "Older transients" and "older natives" in Mainstreet City were more educated than their corresponding members in the APME survey.

Management Style. Almost half of journalists at the Evening Star perceived their paper as "authoritarian." This group tended to characterize the Star as "authoritarian, but about right" somewhat more often than to call it "too authoritarian." Very few said the Evening Star is "democratic."[19]

Most Morning Sun staffers perceived their newspaper either as halfway between democratic and authoritarian (26%) or as varying in these characteristics, depending on the issue (34%). Editors and reporters were about equally likely to view their papers as authoritarian, but they tended to vary as to whether this was "about right" (editors) or "too authoritarian" (reporters).

Among the four journalist groups, "younger natives" and "older natives" were the most likely to view their papers as authoritarian. "Younger transients" were much more likely than the others to view their papers as "democratic," and they tended to call them "too democratic."

Leadership/Guidance and Editors' Roles. A plurality of journalists wanted a moderate amount of guidance from supervisors, and about one-third of those on either paper wanted little or no guidance (Table 2). Editors and reporters did not vary much from each other in this respect, nor was there much difference among the four journalist groups, except that "younger transients" were less likely than the others to desire little or no guidance.

Journalists at both papers showed an overwhelming desire to have a great deal of freedom to plan and organize their work (more than 8 in 10 at either

paper), and this varied little by job title or journalist group. Freedom from supervision was rated highly as a career goal, and a larger proportion of journalists (61%) at the Sun than at the Star (45%) said they could achieve this goal well at their newspapers (Table 2).

About 6 in 10 Morning Sun staffers and 5 in 10 Evening Star staffers said they received little or no guidance from supervisors. Only 1 in 10 from either paper said they got a great deal. Reporters were about twice as likely as editors to say they receive little or no guidance from supervisors. "Younger transients" (74%) and "older natives" (57%) were especially likely to report little guidance. "Younger transients" were more likely to report this if they worked at the Morning Sun.

Evening Star staffers tended somewhat more than Morning Sun staffers to agree that "editors understand the importance of their teaching role at my newspaper." In both cases, editors were about twice as likely as reporters to agree with these statements.

The majority of journalists said they expected a great deal of leadership from their supervisors, but only a minority said they received a great deal (Table 2). More than half at the Morning Sun and one-third at the Evening Star said they received little or no leadership.

When asked what they considered their papers' greatest weaknesses to be, "poor communication/poor leadership/poor planning" was mentioned frequently at both papers (Star, 41%; Sun, 34%).[20] Scarcely anyone cited strong management or strong leadership among their papers' greatest strengths.[21]

Staffers at the Star were more likely than Sun staffers to perceive that top editors at their paper maintained direct control of newsroom operations; however, about half at the Star said that their paper maintained control of newsroom operations mainly through lower-level editors (Table 2). Journalists lower in the hierarchy at either paper were more likely to perceive indirect

control, and those at higher levels tended to perceive direct control. However, only one-third of journalists at either paper agreed that "lower-level editors have very little influence at my paper." More editors (54%) then reporters (34%) disagreed with this statement.

Three-fourths of Sun staffers reported that top editors meet with lower-level editors to discuss news play and policy five times a week or more. Fewer Star staffers reported meetings this often. Those at the Star were much more likely than those at the Sun to say meeting frequency was "about right."

Journalists at the Evening Star were more likely than those at the Morning Sun to say that they can get subjects covered frequently when they have a good idea for a topic that deserves coverage. Reporters tended much more than editors to report this.

Almost all Mainstreet Newspapers journalists agreed that "journalists' participation in decision-making is an important factor in improving the work environment"; however, only about one-third at each paper said that they had a great deal of voice in decisions in their departments. As expected, editors reported more voice in decisions than did reporters (Table 4).

Journalists at both newspapers tended to feel only somewhat well-informed about newsroom decisions (Table 4). Reporters were especially likely to feel uninformed -- half rated themselves as not well informed. "Younger transients" were twice as likely as "younger natives" to feel poorly informed.

Forty-four percent of Morning Sun staff members reported little or no dialogue between editors and reporters, while Evening Star journalists tended to rate the amount of reporter-editor dialogue somewhat higher (Table 4). Again, reporters tended to perceive significantly less dialogue between editors and reporters than editors did.

Results for feedback from supervisors showed a somewhat similar pattern. Specifically, "younger transients" and "older transients" tended to feel especially isolated from supervisor feedback. Patterns of discussion of stories with co-workers were similar for both papers.

Environment and Treatment. The vast majority of Mainstreet Newspaper journalists perceived that "people are treated well at my newspaper" when asked to choose between two opposing statements. The other was: "My newspaper treats people as if they were not adults."

More than three-fourths of staffers at both papers agreed that "the most important goal of a good newspaper manager is to foster a thoughtful and caring attitude in relationships with employees." The only journalist group to choose the opposing statement in any great numbers was the "older natives." About one-fourth of this group agreed instead that "good managers at newspapers must carry out tasks without paying too much attention to people's feelings."

Three-fourths of journalists at both papers agreed that "when people make errors at my newspaper, the errors are pointed out to them in private." Only about one-fifth of people at either paper agreed that "there is a general atmosphere of punishment rather than reward at my newspaper."

Not surprisingly, journalists at the afternoon Star, with its tighter deadlines characteristic of afternoon dailies, were twice as likely as those at the Sun to feel negative effects of deadline pressure on their work. Sloppiness, decreased accuracy and decreased creativity were mentioned most often among negative effects. About one-fifth of journalists at either paper said that deadline pressure had a positive effect on their work, such as increasing productivity or sharpening focus.

Despite such pressures, those at the Evening Star were no more likely than those at the Morning Sun to agree that "the work load and demands placed on me are often too heavy." Only one-third at either paper took this view.

Career Goals and Job Satisfaction. Overall levels of job satisfaction tended to be relatively high at both newspapers. About 79% of Star journalists were very or fairly satisfied with their jobs, compared with 70% of Sun journalists. Job satisfaction varied by job title, with 84% of editors and 65% of reporters being very or fairly satisfied.

The "younger natives" had the highest level of satisfaction, and the "younger transients" had the lowest level of satisfaction (Table 5). "Older transients" and "older natives" were similar in reporting high levels of job satisfaction. Commitment to jobs was lowest in "older transients," however, and next lowest in "younger transients."

Overall levels of job satisfaction were almost identical in the Mainstreet and APME surveys; however, there were differences among the four groups (Table 5). Job satisfaction among the most disaffected group in the national survey, the "younger transients," was even lower among their Mainstreet counterparts.

The overwhelming majority of staff members said their newspapers promote from within (one added, "to a fault"). Reporters were more likely than editors (54% versus 21%) to rate their chances for advancement at their newspapers as low (1 or 2 on a 5-point scale).

Perceptions of Readers, News Source Contact, and Community Closeness. Nearly twice as many journalists at the Morning Sun as at the Evening Star said the reporters and editors at their paper stereotype the reader a lot (Table 6). Those at the Morning Sun also tended to hear more often from readers (Table 6); however, only a minority said they received reader comments and reactions very often. Reporters and editors were about equally likely to hear from readers. "Older transients" and "older natives" had greater reader contact than "younger transients" and "younger natives" did. All Mainstreet journalists received far less reader feedback than journalists nationally.

Journalists at the Sun tended to hear from news sources more often than journalists did at the Star (Table 6). As might be expected, reporters were in contact with news sources more often than editors were.

Eight journalists in 10 agreed that "it's important for people who work for newspapers to know a lot of people in the community," but only 2 in 10 agreed that "it's important for people who work for newspapers to be involved in community organizations" (Table 6). These results were similar to those in the APME study. Mainstreet journalists were more likely than respondents in the APME survey to support journalistic involvement in community organizations.

Journalists at Mainstreet Newspapers were like journalists surveyed nationally in their low level of identification with readers' values. Only 30% of those in Mainstreet City (and 36% of journalists nationally) agreed that "generally, the readers of the newspaper I work for share my values" (Table 6).

Only the "older natives" in Mainstreet City were similar to their national counterparts in perception of congruence of readers' values with their own. Even "younger natives" at Mainstreet Newspapers felt distant from readers' values.

Discussion and Conclusions

The Evening Star tended to be perceived as authoritarian by its employees, but only a minority called this "too authoritarian." This minority tended to include reporters much more often than editors. Morning Sun employees tended to perceive their paper as a blend of democratic and authoritarian styles. A central assumption of this study was that the Star had an authoritarian style and that the Sun had a democratic style. This assumption is not wholly accurate for the Star, and it receives little support from the data for the Sun.

Journalists at both papers almost universally endorsed journalists' participation in decision making as an important factor in improving the work environment. However, managers at the Morning Sun do not operate in a democratic style, if "democratic" is defined as extending power and authority down through the organizational hierarchy. Sun journalists were no more likely than Star journalists to perceive that they have much voice in news decisions in their departments or that they can get topics covered when they have good ideas for stories.

If "authoritarian" is defined as decision making at top levels, this word characterizes the Star better than "democratic" characterizes the Sun. Decision making at top levels, however, does not ensure leadership. Its effectiveness is an issue at both papers, and upper-level editors appear to be least aware of dissatisfaction with leadership.

Upper and lower-level editors were perceived to meet more frequently to discuss news play and policy at the morning paper. Frequency of meetings for such discussions are not related to feeling well informed or to frequency of dialogue between editors and reporters. Lack of communication, especially between editors and reporters, as well as a sense of isolation, are problems shared by both papers.

Relationships among editors, as well as between editors and reporters, appear to be more satisfactory at the evening paper. More cohesiveness at the Star does not appear to be impeded by the perception of greater deadline pressure at that paper.

Further research could show whether management style affects journalists' attitudes toward colleagues in the newsroom.

Some job dissatisfaction at both papers is due to discontentment among people at lower-level jobs. This discontentment is to be expected since people who have not achieved career goals tend to have lower job satisfaction. Study is needed to show how job satisfaction relates to perceptions of chances for advancement in newsrooms.

Further research is also required to determine whether certain newsroom management styles foster leadership and participation in decision making or result in bureaucracy, such as excess meetings among supervisors which interfere with running the newspaper. Additionally unknown is whether management styles will change the nature of the newsroom, workers' attitudes and job perceptions within it, or whether a certain management style will merely enhance the existing environment.

Differences in management style did not appear to influence the journalists' attitudes toward their audience. Although journalists at the Star were a more cohesive group, they did not feel much closer to their community and readers. In fact, journalists at the Sun had more frequent communication with readers, although their level of reader communication was below the national APME average. Other research has shown journalists as a group to feel fairly isolated from readers and their communities. This isolation is especially pronounced at Mainstreet Newspapers.

The typology of journalists developed in the APME survey was very useful in the Mainstreet Newspapers survey because the typology reflects differences among journalists which are related to at least four major variables -- age, community ties, and indirectly, job title and experience in journalism. The Mainstreet Newspapers survey showed that the APME typology could be replicated and extended.[22]

"Younger natives" were more likely to work at the Star, and "older transients" were more likely to work at the Sun. The difference in management philosophies at the two papers may lead somewhat to differentials in personality types chosen for employment.

"Younger transients" were an especially disaffected group in the APME survey, and they were an even more alienated group at Mainstreet Newspapers. They were the most likely of the four groups to feel remote from their newspapers, their readers and their community. Surprisingly, "younger natives" also felt a sense of distance from their newspapers and their readers which needs to be bridged. Although "younger natives" felt close to their communities, they did not identify much with their readers.

Other research suggests that perceptions of distance derive from a constellation of characteristics which sets journalists apart from the general population -- their greater education, higher incomes, greater tendency to be white and male, greater liberalism, lower religiosity, greater cynicism and greater sophistication.[23] These differences are sometimes related to condescending perceptions of readers.[24] Frequently, newspaper journalists believe that the public holds very critical views of them, although, in general, the public has positive views of them.[25]

Other research has shown lack of community involvement to be a source of distance, and that community involvement, as well as friendships with a broader range of people, tends to increase with upward movement in news-

paper management hierarchies.[26]

Many newspapers appear to have characteristics which augment journalists' perceptions of distance.[27] How this occurs and how communication in newspaper organizations can be facilitated remain questions for further research.

Are there differences in personality development and childhood environment which contribute to differences between "transients" and "natives," and, if so, can these differences ever be ameliorated by newspaper work environments or management styles?

The question of whether "younger transients" ever develop into "younger natives" or if these are very different groups to begin with also invites additional research. Can "older transients" be converted to "older natives"? Why do "older transients" often feel much more estranged from their newspapers and their communities than "older natives" do?

Are the differences among the four journalist groups related simply to age? Will "younger transients" change their attitudes as they age? Or are their differences "cohort effects," and if so, are they a somewhat different cohort than "younger natives" are? Or are their differences "period effects," that is, differences due to the historical period in which they grew up? Perhaps two or all three potential sources of differences are at work. Only longitudinal research will help to disentangle the effects of age, cohort, and period.

NOTES

1 Judee K. Burgoon, Michael Burgoon and Charles K. Atkin, "Preliminary Report on The World of the Working Journalist" (Newspaper Readership Project, The American Society of Newspaper Editors, Washington, D.C., May 1982).

2 Sharon H. Polansky and Douglas W.W. Hughes, "Managerial Innovations in Newspaper Organizations," Newspaper Research Journal, 8:3 (1986).

3 James Boylan, "Newspeople," The Wilson Quarterly, special issue, 1982, pp. 71-85.

4 Lee Sigelman, "Reporting the News: An Organizational Analysis," American Journal of Sociology, 79:132-151 (1973).

5 W.R. Scott, S.M. Dornbusch, B.C. Busching and J.D. Laing, "Organizational Evaluation and Authority," Administrative Science Quarterly, 12:93-117 (1967).

6 Edward J. Trayes, "Managing Editors and Their Newsrooms: A Survey of 208 APME Members," Journalism Quarterly, 55:745 (1978).

7 Judee K. Burgoon, Michael Burgoon and Charles K. Atkin, The World of the Working Journalist (Newspaper Readership Project, Newspaper Advertising Bureau, New York, September 1982), p. 60.

8 Gilbert L. Fowler and John Martin Shipman, "Pennsylvania Editors' Perceptions of Communication in the Newsroom," Journalism Quarterly, 61:826 (1984).

9 Warren H. Schmidt and Robert Tannenbaum, "How To Choose a Leadership Pattern," Harvard Business Review, 51:(163)168 (1973).

10 Lee B. Becker, Idowu A. Sobowale and Robin E. Cobbey, "Reporters and Their Professional and Organizational Commitment," Journalism Quarterly, 56:755 (1979).

11 David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, The American Journalist (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 92, 95.

12 Ibid., p. 95.

13

Associated Press Managing Editors Association, Journalists and Readers: Bridging the Credibility Gap. Conducted by MORI Research (San Bernardino, CA: The Sun, 1985).

14

The APME survey defined large newspapers as having more than 100,000 circulation. This definition of "large" is used by Editor & Publisher Yearbook, as well as by Philip Meyer, Editors, Publishers and Newspaper Ethics: A Report to the American Society of Newspaper Editors (Washington, D.C.: ASNE Newspaper Center, 1983).

15

The formula was: $\frac{2(C_1 + C_2 \text{ agreement})}{C_1 + C_2}$

16

Associated Press Managing Editors Association, op. cit.

17

The journalists in this survey represent a population, not a sample; therefore, chi-square analysis (which assumes randomly sampled data) is not appropriate. However, the argument can be made that chi-square analyses can be applied legitimately to determine if real differences among sub-groups exist or not. For this reason chi-square tests have been used in the tables accompanying this paper. For an argument supporting this decision, see: Robert F. Winch and Donald T. Campbell, "Proof? No. Evidence? Yes. The Significance of Tests of Significance," The American Sociologist, 4:140-143 (1969).

18

Cecilie Gaziano and Kristin McGrath, "Newspaper Credibility and Relationships of Newspaper Journalists to Their Communities," Journalism Quarterly, (in press, 1987).

19

When journalists compared the management style of their papers to others for which they have worked, Evening Star staffers were most likely to say either "too authoritarian" (20%) or "about the same -- fairly authoritarian" (28%). Twenty-seven percent had not worked for other newspapers. No dominant tendency emerged among Sun staffers, however. Fifteen percent said the Morning Sun was "too democratic," compared to other employers, 10% said it was "about the same/fairly authoritarian," 15% said it was "about the same/in the middle," and 16% were not sure. About 31% had worked for no other newspapers.

20

Other weaknesses mentioned were poor editing, poor writing, and problems with certain kinds of coverage. The morning paper was criticized more often for editing and the afternoon paper was criticized more often for writing and coverage. Editors were more likely than reporters to be negative about writing, and reporters were more likely to critize editing.

21

Skilled writers and good writing were cited most frequently as their newspapers' greatest strengths (with reporters mentioning this more often than editors). Good coverage of various specific types of news was mentioned second most often as a strength, although those from the Evening Star said this about twice as often as those from the Morning Sun.

22

Additional data from a proprietary survey of journalists who work for two newspapers owned by a different group in a different market, conducted by MORI Research before the study reported here was carried out, also illustrated the value of the typology in studying journalists and formulating strategies to use the results.

23

APME, op. cit.; Weaver and Wilhoit, op. cit.; Los Angeles Times Poll, "The Media Poll," No. 94, I. A. Lewis, director, Times Mirror; William Schneider and I. A. Lewis, "Views on the News," Public Opinion, 8(4):6-11, 58-59.

24

Charles K. Atkin, Judee K. Burgoon, and Michael Burgoon, "How Journalists Perceive the Reading Audience," Newspaper Research Journal, 4(1):51-63 (1983); Judee K. Burgoon, Michael Burgoon, David B. Buller, and Charles K. Atkin, "Communication Practices of Journalists: Insularity from the Public and Interaction with Other Journalists," unpublished paper, Michigan State University (October 1983).

25

Los Angeles Times Poll, op. cit.

26

Meyer, op. cit.; APME, op. cit.

27

APME, ibid.

TABLE 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF JOURNALISTS AT MAINSTREET NEWSPAPERS

	NEWSPAPER		JOB TITLE		
	Morning Sun	Evening Star	Reporter	Editor	TOTAL
JOB TITLE					
Reporter	57%	59%	100%	--%	58%
Editor	39	35	--	100	37
Other	3	6	--	--	5
SEX					
Male	73	73	68	83*	73
Female	27	27	32	17	27
AGE					
18-34	31	40	43	17***	35
35-44	36	32	34	35	34
45 or older	34	29	23	48	31
EDUCATION					
Some college	15	5	6	13	10
College graduate	48	49	49	46	49
Graduate work	37	46	45	41	41
COLLEGE MAJOR[a]					
Journalism	39	40	39	43	40
English	27	32	36	24	30
Other	34	27	25	33	31
TIME IN JOURNALISM					
5 years or less	11	14	17	2***	13
6-10 years	21	22	26	13	22
11-20 years	32	38	38	35	35
21 years or more	35	25	19	50	30
YEAR HIRED					
1980-1986	29	35	35	26**	32
1970-1979	34	38	40	26	36
Before 1970	37	27	25	48	32
COMMUNITY TIES					
Weak (1-3 on scale)	13	16	15	16	15
Medium (4-7 on scale)	44	30	40	36	37
Strong (8-10/scale)	43	54	44	49	48

a Those listed under "Journalism" and "English" include double majors

*p $\leq$ .10 (X^2 analysis)
**p $\leq$ .05 (X^2 analysis) -- see note 17 regarding statistical analyses
***p $\leq$ .01 (X^2 analysis)

TABLE 2: LEADERSHIP AND GUIDANCE

	NEWSPAPER		JOB TITLE		
	Morning Sun	Evening Star	Reporter	Editor	TOTAL
How much leadership do you expect from your supervisors?					
Little or none (1-2 on scale)	13%	3%*	7%	11%	8%
Moderate amount (3 on scale)	26	38	31	26	32
A great deal (4-5 on scale)	61	59	61	63	60
How much leadership do you feel that you get from your supervisors?					
Little or none (1-2 on scale)	53	35	54	35*	44
Moderate amount (3 on scale)	34	44	34	41	39
A great deal (4-5 on scale)	13	21	13	24	17
How much guidance do you want from your supervisors?					
Little or none (1-2 on scale)	34	33	36	28	34
Moderate amount (3 on scale)	44	46	43	50	45
A great deal (4-5 on scale)	23	21	21	22	22
How much guidance do you get from your supervisors?					
Little or none (1-2 on scale)	60	49	69	37****	54
Moderate amount (3 on scale)	29	41	28	41	35
A great deal (4-5 on scale)	11	10	3	22	10
Do top editors at your paper maintain control of newsroom operations themselves directly or do they work mainly through lower-level editors?					
Direct control	18	34	20	39**	26
Mainly through lower-level editors	68	52	61	54	60
Not sure	15	15	20	7	15
How well can you achieve this career goal at your newspaper? FREEDOM FROM SUPERVISION					
Cannot achieve well (1-2)	13	12	11	17	13
Neutral (3 on scale)	26	43	38	31	35
Can achieve well (4-5/scale)	61	45	51	51	53
BASE:	(62)	(63)	(72)	(46)	(125)

*p / .10 (X^2 analysis) ****p / .001 (X^2 analysis)

TABLE 3: EDITORS' ROLES IN LEADERSHIP

	NEWSPAPER		JOB TITLE		
	Morning Sun	Evening Star	Reporter	Editor	TOTAL
The managing editor sets the tone and pace of work here.[a]					
Agree	31%	46%	36%	41%	38%
Feel neutral	26	22	22	26	24
Disagree	44	32	42	33	38
The copydesk at my newspaper is recognized as an integral part of the editing process.					
Agree	40	48	32	61***	44
Feel neutral	21	10	19	7	15
Disagree	39	43	49	33	41
The relationship between the city desk and the copydesk is usually very good at my newspaper.					
Agree	21	39**	17	47***	30
Feel neutral	31	34	42	18	33
Disagree	48	27	41	36	37
Editors understand the importance of their teaching role at my newspaper.					
Agree	21	30*	15	39**	26
Feel neutral	5	17	8	15	11
Disagree	74	52	76	46	63
Editors seldom discuss the content of various stories with reporters.					
Agree	51	33	55	22***	42
Feel neutral	13	22	13	26	18
Disagree	36	44	32	52	40
BASE:	(62)	(63)	(72)	(46)	(125)

a "Strongly" and "somewhat" categories combined for agree and disagree items.

*p $<$ .10 (X^2 analysis)
**p $<$ .05 (X^2 analysis)
***p $<$ .01 (X^2 analysis)

TABLE 4: COMMUNICATION

	NEWSPAPER		JOB TITLE		
	Morning Sun	Evening Star	Reporter	Editor	TOTAL
How well informed do you feel about newsroom decisions and policies?					
Well informed	23%	15%	8%	35%****	19%
Somewhat well informed	42	50	41	50	46
Not very well informed	35	35	51	15	35
How often do you get reactions or comments on your work from news sources?					
Very seldom (1-2 on scale)	35	45*	28	57	40
Somewhat often (3 on scale)	28	35	34	30	32
Quite often (4-5 on scale)	37	19	38	14	28
How often do you get reactions or comments on your work from supervisors?					
Very seldom (1-2 on scale)	50	34	51	35***	42
Somewhat often (3 on scale)	32	40	39	30	36
Quite often (4-5 on scale)	18	26	10	35	22
How much of a voice would you say you have in news decisions in your department?					
Little or none (1-2 on scale)	44	37	51	22****	40
Moderate (3 on scale)	24	30	28	24	27
A great deal (4-5 on scale)	32	33	21	54	33
How much dialogue would you say there is between editors and reporters?					
Little or none (1-2 on scale)	44	19***	42	17**	31
Moderate amount (3 on scale)	35	45	35	48	40
A great deal (4-5 on scale)	21	35	23	35	28
How much positive criticism do editors offer?					
Little or none (1-2 on scale)	56	37*	60	29****	47
Moderate amount (3 on scale)	26	44	33	40	35
A great deal (4-5 on scale)	18	19	7	31	19
BASE:	(62)	(63)	(72)	(46)	(125)

*p / .10 (X^2 analysis)
**p / .05 (X^2 analysis)
***p / .01 (X^2 analysis)
****p / .001 (X^2 analysis)

TABLE 5: JOB SATISFACTION (BY TYPOLOGY OF JOURNALISTS)

	Younger Transients	Younger Natives	Older Transients	Older Natives	TOTAL
JOB SATISFACTION:					
Very satisfied	12%	20%	27%	31%*	25%
Fairly satisfied	38	73	49	50	49
Somewhat dissatisfied	38	--	19	19	20
Very dissatisfied	12	7	5	--	6
Where would you most like to be working in five years -- in the news media or somewhere else?					
In the news media	78	80	65	73	73
Somewhere else	11	7	8	7	8
Will be retired by then	--	--	--	5	2
Don't know	11	13	27	15	17
Do you hope to be working for the same newspaper five years from now, or would you prefer to be working somewhere else?					
Same newspaper	4	47	49	67****	46
Somewhere else	59	13	22	7	23
Will be retired by then	--	--	--	5	2
Don't know	37	40	30	21	30
Opportunities for advancement are not good at this newspaper.					
Agree[a]	67	27	35	29**	39
Neutral	22	33	24	29	26
Disagree	11	40	41	41	35
Please rate how well you think you can achieve this career goal at your newspaper on a 5-point scale: CHANCES FOR ADVANCEMENT					
Cannot achieve well (1-2)	62	54	29	30	40
Can achieve somewhat well (3)	27	15	42	40	33
Can achieve well (4-5)	12	31	29	30	27
BASE:	(27)	(15)	(37)	(42)	(125)

a "Strongly" and "somewhat" categories combined for agree and disagree items.

*p $\leq$ .10 (χ^2 analysis)
**p $\leq$ .05 (χ^2 analysis)
****p $\leq$ .001 (χ^2 analysis)

TABLE 6: PERCEPTIONS OF THE AUDIENCE AND CLOSENESS TO THE COMMUNITY

	NEWSPAPER		JOB TITLE		
	Morning Sun	Evening Star	Reporter	Editor	TOTAL
How much do reporters and editors stereotype the reader?					
Not very much (1-2 on scale)	18%	37%**	24%	35%	27%
Moderate amount (3 on scale)	35	37	34	39	36
A great deal (4-5 on scale)	47	26	42	26	36
Generally, the readers of the newspaper I work for share my values.					
Agree[a]	32	29	28	32	30
Feel neutral	45	42	44	43	43
Disagree	23	29	28	25	26
How often do you get reactions or comments on your work from readers?					
Very seldom (1-2 on scale)	48	55**	52	47	51
Somewhat often (3 on scale)	26	35	28	36	31
Quite often (4-5 on scale)	26	10	20	18	18
It's important for people who work for newspapers to know a lot of people in the community.					
Agree[a]	84	81	79	85	82
Feel neutral	8	6	10	4	7
Disagree	8	13	11	11	10
It's important for people who work for newspapers to be involved in community organizations.					
Agree[a]	18	25	17	26	22
Feel neutral	29	17	26	17	23
Disagree	53	57	57	57	55
BASE:	(62)	(63)	(72)	(46)	(125)

[a] "Strongly" and "somewhat" categories combined for agree and disagree items.

**$p < .05$ (χ^2 analysis)